

## Message Text

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17 11  
ORIGIN NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 AID-20 EB-11 CIEP-02 TRSE-00

STR-08 OMB-01 CEA-02 EUR-25 DPW-01 AF-10 /214 R

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S/S - MR. MILLER

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R 022246Z NOV 73  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 216769

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, IN  
SUBJ: DEPSEC'S MEETING WITH INDIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY

1. SUMMARY. INDIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY KEWAL SINGH CALLED ON DEPSEC RUSH NOVEMBER 1. SINGH COMMENDED US FOR EFFORTS RESOLVE ME CRISIS AND NOTED US/USSR GOOD OFFICES NOW CRUCIAL TO NEGOTIATIONS. EXPRESSED HOPE CONSULTATIONS IN UNSC COULD BE BROADER IN FUTURE. NOTED EVOLUTION IN US/INDIAN RELATIONS AND THOUGHT NEW INITIATIVES MIGHT SOON BE TIMELY. ON SIMLA, SINGH SAID HE HOPED US WOULD ENCOURAGE BHUTTO TO FIND WAY BEGIN DIALOGUE WITH MUJIB. DEPSEC SAID HE SHARED SINGH'S CONFIDENCE IN BETTER OUT-LOOK US/INDIAN RELATIONS AND WELCOMED SINGH'S REAFFIRMATION  
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OF GOI REGARD FOR PAK INTEGRITY. SAW NO NEED FOR CONCERN BY INDIA OVER IRAN'S ARMS BUILDUP. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING OPENING AMENITIES AND EXPRESSION WARM RECOL-

LECTIONS OF HIS APRIL VISIT DELHI, DEPSEC REVIEWED MIDDLE EAST CRISIS, EMPHASIZING USG DETERMINATION TO GET NEGOTIATIONS THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO LASTING PEACE IN AREA. SINGH NOTED INDIA HAD BEEN TERRIBLY SHOCKED BY OUTBREAK OF WAR. US EFFORTS HAD CLEARLY CONTRIBUTED TO PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, ASSISTED BY EFFORTS OF US AND USSR OVER PAST SEVERAL YEARS TO BUILD ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE. SINGH NOTED HE HAD BEEN PRESENT DURING SEVERAL RECENT MEETINGS OF UNSC WHERE HE SENSED NEED FOR BROADER CONSULTATION IN

CONTINUING EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE.

INDIA HOPED THIS WOULD COME IN TIME. IMPORTANT THING, HOWEVER, WAS THAT EFFORTS WERE UNDER WAY AND INDIA APPRECIATED ROLE PLAYED BY BIG POWERS TO EXTINGUISH FLAMES OF WAR AND GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED.

3. DEPSEC REVIEWED TWO BASIC OBJECTIVES NOW FACING USG; FIRST, STRENGTHENING THE CEASE-FIRE AND SECOND, GETTING PROCESS UNDER WAY LOOKING TOWARD PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. US INTENDED TO PRESS VERY HARD TO BRING ABOUT PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND WOULD, TOGETHER WITH SOVIETS, LEND ITS GOOD OFFICES TO THAT END. IN FINAL ANALYSIS, PARTIES THEMSELVES WOULD NEED TO WORK OUT THEIR PROBLEMS BUT IT WOULD BE INTOLERABLE TO LET SITUATION DRIFT BACK TO CIRCUMSTANCES PREVAILING AT OUTBREAK OF WAR.

4. DEPSEC NOTED THAT ISRAELIS HAD EXPERIENCED REAL SHOCK DURING WAR AND FACED NEW AWARENESS OF IMPROVED ARAB QUALITY AND COMPETENCE ON BATTLEFIELD; ON ARAB SIDE, THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME ADDED FLEXIBILITY THAT WAS NOT THERE BEFORE. MEANWHILE, USG HAD SOUGHT SUCCESSFULLY TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH ALL PARTIES CONCERNED AND, IMPORTANTLY, ARABS APPEAR TO REALIZE THAT ONLY US CAN BRING ABOUT REAL MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE. IN SUM, THEREFORE, DEPSEC FELT PROSPECTS WERE GOOD FOR BEGINNING PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE.

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5. SINGH REAFFIRMED INDIA'S BEST WISHES IN THIS EFFORT AND NOTED HE TOO TOOK CONFIDENCE IN FACT THAT BOTH PARTIES MAY HAVE BEEN SHOCKED INTO ACUTE CONSCIOUSNESS OF NEED FOR PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. US AND SOVIET GOOD OFFICES WERE CRUCIAL TO THAT EFFORT.

6. SINGH THEN TURNED TO US/INDIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS, EXPRESSING GRATITUDE FOR WARM RECEPTION GIVEN AMB. KAUL HERE AND NOTING GOOD TALKS THAT AMB. MOYNIHAN HAD BEEN HAVING IN DELHI. INDIA HOPED FOR STRONGER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND IN TIME MUCH GREATER CO-OPERATION. SINGH ALSO NOTED DEPSEC'S OWN CONTRIBUTIONS TO IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE, WHICH HOPEFULLY WAS NOW SUCH

THAT WE COULD SOON BEGIN TO THINK OF NEW INITIATIVES  
BASED ON COMMON INTERESTS.

7. DEPSEC RECALLED HIS APRIL VISIT DELHI AND FELT THAT  
IN INTERIM GOOD PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE ON SPECIFIC  
PROBLEMS. NOTED RUPEES IN PARTICULAR, WHERE PROBLEMS  
HAD DEVELOPED IN CONGRESS AND ON WHICH WE STILL WORKING.  
US SHARED INDIA'S DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS AND  
THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS CLEARLY MUCH BETTER UNDERSTANDING

THAN A YEAR AGO. WE RESPECTED PRIME MINISTER GANDHI'S  
OBJECTIVE OF SEEING INDIA STAND ON ITS OWN FEET, WHICH  
WAS A KIND OF NATIONALISTIC APPROACH THAT WE DID NOT  
FAULT. SINGH AGREED WITH DEPSEC'S OBSERVATION THAT FACT  
INDIA AND US DID NOT ALWAYS AGREE NEED NOT BAR CLOSE  
RELATIONS. IMPORTANT THING WAS NOT TO QUESTION EACH  
OTHER'S MOTIVES AND SINCERITY.

8. SINGH THEN REVIEWED SIMLA PROCESS, FOCUSING ON SUC-  
CESSFUL TALKS IN DELHI ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. REPATRIA-  
TION PROCESS GOING ON REASONABLY WELL; SOME WOULD COMPLAIN  
ABOUT PAKISTAN'S PERFORMANCE BUT HE WAS AN OPTIMIST.  
THOUGHT THAT WITHIN THREE MONTHS THE REPATRIATION PROCESS  
COULD BE CONCLUDED. AMB. KAUL INJECTED NOTE OF APPRECI-  
ATION FOR CRUCIAL CONTRIBUTION WHICH USG HAD MADE IN  
SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME OF DELHI TALKS, AND SINGH WARMLY  
ENDORSED THIS.

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9. INDIA'S INTEREST WAS IN A STRONG AND STABLE PAKISTAN,  
PROGRESSING IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THERE SHOULD BE  
NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER OF THIS. INDIA BELIEVED PAKISTAN  
ALSO WANTED TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION; INDIA RECOGNIZED  
PAKISTAN HAD ITS OWN POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND INDIA WOULD  
BE PATIENT. EVEN IF INDIA HAD DOUBTS ABOUT PAKISTAN'S  
INTENTIONS, IT HAD NO CHOICE BECAUSE IT HAD CONCLUDED  
THAT IT MUST LIVE IN FRIENDSHIP WITH PAKISTAN.

10. IN NOTING THAT MATTER OF ULTIMATE DISPOSITION OF  
195 POWS HELD FOR WAR CRIMES REMAINS A PROBLEM, SINGH  
EXPRESSED HOPE US WOULD CONSIDER WHAT SUGGESTIONS IT  
MIGHT MAKE TO BHUTTO TO GET DIALOGUE STARTED WITH MUJIB.  
INDIA BELIEVED BHUTTO AND MUJIB MUST TALK AND WORK  
TOGETHER, ON BASIS SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. SINGH SAID  
BHUTTO HAD TOLD INDIANS DURING ISLAMABAD TALKS THAT IF  
REPATRIATION PROCESS GOT MOVING, HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE  
POSSIBLE "SWEETEN" THE PROCESS BY GETTING CHINESE TO  
DROP VETO ON BD UN MEMBERSHIP. SO FAR HOWEVER BHUTTO  
HAD DONE NOTHING ON THIS. DEPSEC RESPONDED IT SHOULD  
CLEARLY BE IN INTERESTS OF BOTH TO RECOGNIZE THE OTHER  
AND FOR BANGLADESH TO BE IN UN.

11. SINGH THEN MADE SEVERAL RESTRAINED REFERENCES TO IRANIAN ARMS BUILD-UP, NOTING THAT SWARAN SINGH HAD HAD GOOD TALKS WITH SHAH AND THAT INDIA IN OTHER WAYS SEEKING STRENGTHEN RELATIONS WITH IRAN. NONETHELESS IT HAD REASON TO FEEL FROM EXPERIENCE THAT SOME OF IRANIAN ARMS MIGHT END UP IN PAKISTAN AND HE HOPED US WOULD KEEP THIS INDIAN CONCERN IN MIND. INDIA WOULD CONTINUE TO

WORK FOR PEACE THROUGHOUT THE AREA AND FOR RELATIONSHIPS BASED ON TRUST. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER OF INDIA'S REGARD FOR PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY.

12. DEPSEC SAID INDIAN POLICIES AS OUTLINED BY SINGH WERE VERY CLOSELY TO OUR OWN THINKING. WE PARTICULARLY WELCOMED INDICATIONS AFTER BHUTTO VISIT WASHINGTON THAT INDIA TOO REGARDED PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY AS A CORNERSTONE OF ITS OWN FOREIGN POLICY. GOOD RELATIONS AMONG PAKISTAN, INDIA  
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AND BANGLADESH WERE IN OUR VIEW A VITAL FACTOR FOR WORLD PEACE. AS FOR IRAN, DEPSEC SAID HE HAD HAD GOOD TALKS WITH SHAH AND THOUGHT HE UNDERSTOOD HIS VIEWS AND CONCERNS. DEPSEC SAID SHAH FELT, AND DEPSEC THOUGHT WITH GOOD CAUSE, THAT IRAN'S OWN STRENGTH WAS ESSENTIAL TO PEACE IN AREA AND TO KEEP SOVIETS FROM FISHING IN TROUBLED WATERS IN PERSIAN GULF AREA AS WELL AS IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN. SHAH OF COURSE ALSO HAD AMPLE RESOURCES, WHICH HE USING FOR BOTH DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT. DEPSEC SAW NO REAL NEED FOR CONCERN ON INDIA'S PART. PAKISTAN WOULD BE VERY FOOLISH INDEED TO TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST INDIA AND HE WAS CONFIDENT BOTH PAKISTAN AND INDIA WANTED EFFECTIVE PEACE. US WOULD CONTINUE ITS FULL SUPPORT FOR SIMLA PROCESS WITH ITS PROMISE FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDINGS IN AREA. SINGH RESPONDED THAT INDIA WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK ACTIVELY FOR PEACE WITH PAKISTAN BECAUSE IT WAS A MATTER OF INDIA'S OWN NATIONAL INTEREST. NONETHELESS, INDIA CONTINUED SOMEWHAT CONCERNED ON OVERALL ARMS ISSUE IN SENSE THAT ANY ENCOURAGEMENT TO MILITARY ELEMENTS IN PAKISTAN MIGHT UPSET EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT THERE.

13. IN CONCLUDING EXCHANGE, SINGH REAFFIRMED INDIA'S APPRECIATION FOR EVOLUTION IN US/INDIAN RELATIONS AND ITS HOPE THAT WHEN RUPEE QUESTION RESOLVED WE COULD GET ON TO OTHER PROBLEMS AND GET CLOSER IN A VARIETY OF WAYS. DEPSEC AGREED, NOTING THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE DIFFERENCES BUT THAT THIS MATTERS LESS THAN MEANS WITH WHICH WE MUTUALLY SEEK TO SOLVE THEM. AMB. KAUL NOTED THAT HE HAD TRAVELED EXTENSIVELY IN US IN RECENT MONTHS AND HAD BEEN STRUCK BY GOOD FUND OF GOODWILL FOR INDIA THROUGHOUT US. DEPSEC AGREED THAT THIS PROVIDED GOOD BASIS FOR OUR CONTINUED MUTUAL EFFORTS TO BUILD, OVER

TIME, A STRONGER RELATIONSHIP. KISSINGER

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